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342

The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51(A)]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

252
285
291
516
407
415

Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

8

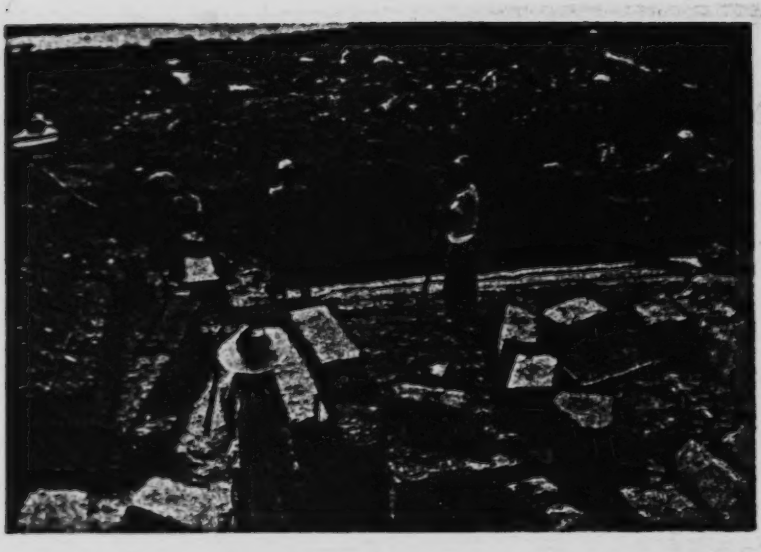
Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 80 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Woman, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.



324
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291

Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

403
262
712

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

[212]

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
Hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[212]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[208]

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
302 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a [177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537]

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

clothing is of a non-descript character. The war Present day destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available.

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used.

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Hinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1964-1965) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms.

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes.

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her

for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

361

View of central village, Taira.

351
342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p. 456-A]

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
291

Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

853
302
291
→

[p 456-D]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
● [291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river.

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes."

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances.

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls.

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
554 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 485

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

• 291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing; For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[230] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
294 However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. [775] [776] The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [191] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails [302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages [834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack [703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

•291 234 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way [515] that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [77]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [439]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

464 562 829 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly [831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 554 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are categorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and [291] [177] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 554 582 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 466 [465] [515] The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath, and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 554 829 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 829 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers It was the author's impression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.